



ISSN: 0975-833X

Available online at <http://www.journalcra.com>

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF CURRENT RESEARCH

International Journal of Current Research

Vol. 10, Issue, 12, pp.76250-76255, December, 2018

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24941/ijcr.33557.12.2018>

RESEARCH ARTICLE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POST-ELECTION PHASE PROCESSES AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY STATES

^{*1}Rwigema Pierre Celestin, ²Mike A. Iravo and ²Gregory Namusonge

¹Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Kigali, Rwanda

²Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, JUJA, KENYA

³Engineer at Metro Tile Engineering (R) Ltd

ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received 26th September, 2018

Received in revised form

20th October, 2018

Accepted 29th November, 2018

Published online 31st December, 2018

Key Words:

Post-Election process, political leadership, political stability, East African Community States.

ABSTRACT

Background: The general objective of the study was to examine the role of political leadership in electoral process and political stability in the East African Community States. To achieve the general objective this study was evaluate the relationship between post-election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States. This study adopted a quantitative approach of both descriptive and correlation designs. The target population consisted of 123 individuals working within the electoral commissions of different EAC Countries and the EAC Legislative Assembly. Primary data was collected using self-administered questionnaire. The study used primary data, which was collected using questionnaires. The questionnaires were both open and close ended. The study used email, phone calls and meeting procedure with the targeted respondent in EAC Countries and the EAC Legislative Assembly to follow up. Data collected from the field were coded, cleaned and categorized according to questionnaire items. A pilot test was conducted to detect weaknesses in design and instrumentation. The gathered data was analyzed using computer aided IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 21 premium. Both descriptive and inferential statistics was used to analyze the data collected. Descriptive statistics involved computation of mean scores, standard deviation, percentages, cross tabulation and frequency distribution which described the demographic characteristics of the organization and the respondents. Inferential statistics was used to determine the relationships and significance between independent and dependent variable. Correlation and linear regression were used to analyze the data with F-test being applied to the test hypothesis at 5% level of significance. Content analysis was used for the qualitative data. The data was presented using tables, graphs and charts. The data was presented using tables, graphs and charts. Regression analysis was performed in order to determine whether the independent variable, election phase processes could be reliable for explaining the change in the dependent variable, political stability in East Africa region. Regression analysis was performed in order to determine whether the independent variable, post-election phase processes could be reliable for explaining the change in the dependent variable, political stability in East Africa region. The coefficients obtained indicate that the correlation coefficient (R) between the independent variable and the political stability was 0.811 which is a positive correlation relationship. Table 4.24 shows a coefficient of determination (R^2) of 0.658, which means that this variable alone can explain up to 65.8% of the variations in the dependent variable, political stability. Recommendation for improvement can be drawn from the study conclusions; moderating role of political leadership was reported to be persistent in the study area, the government should consider extending the law branch to the rest of the east Africa community state through screening, supporting of law moderation groups locked out by stringent east Africa community state program approval procedures in order to ensure that most people are reached out in the program.

*Corresponding author:

Rwigema Pierre Celestin

Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Kigali, Rwanda

Copyright © 2018, Rwigema Pierre Celestin et al. This is an open access article distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Citation: Rwigema Pierre Celestin. 2018. "Relationship between post-election phase processes and political stability in the east african community states", International Journal of Current Research, 10, (12), 76250-76255.

INTRODUCTION

All most all African Countries including the East African Community member countries have multiparty democracy and have been holding elections regularly since independence (Odhiambo, 2009).

However, the process of holding elections has not been smooth, with the losers contesting the outcome despite the fact that the elections have been conducted within the legal framework and in line with international, African and regional treaties and standards. This section focuses on some pertinent

issues related to the election process that are expected to be applied to make the election process more reliable:

Managing Post-Election Phases processes

Post-election processes can easily turn chaotic especially in cases where some interest groups have a feeling of having been short changed in the election and pre-election processes. The losers tend to contest the outcome despite the fact that the elections have been conducted within the legal framework and in line with international, African and regional treaties and standards. This section focuses on some pertinent issues related to the post-election process that are expected to be applied to make the election closure to be acceptable to all the stakeholders (Baets, 2011).

Election observation

It is now common for parliamentary elections to be observed by international and local observers, including the Commonwealth, the SADC, and local observers from civil society organizations. The process of election observation is provided for in the National Assembly Electoral Acts or the constitutions. Both local and international observers are allowed to observe various stages of elections.

Handling Post-Election Disputes

Adjudication of electoral disputes is still a problem in most developing countries including the East African Community States. According to Ayanda & Odunayo (2015), the use of the courts as a mechanism for resolving electoral disputes is not ideal. The researchers stated further that cases of this nature decided by the High Court are never on its substantive merits, but on technicalities that are hardly understood by a common person.

Monitoring and Evaluation of the Electoral Processes

International advisers and monitors can play a useful role in countries merging from a past of authoritarian rule. Their duties and responsibilities ought to be clearly defined. Their reports should not be inspired by the political agenda of their country of origin (Mbaku, 2010). A clear distinction between peace monitors and election observers is crucial in order to avoid an unhealthy confusion between the interests of political stability and the requirements of democracy. In any case, the role of international observers is limited to the transition phase and to a limited sphere of activities, such as elections. The broader democratic process requires 'monitors of democracy', but this role is best left to local actors, notably independent media. This is therefore not a plea for either/or monitors or media: both have a role to play. But while much attention has recently been given to various forms of international involvement and intervention, the role of the media in Africa is much neglected. The donor community is narrowly focused on multi-party elections as the litmus test of democratization. A political conditionality which singles out multi-party elections as the crucial element without taking account of the wider environment, risks being counter-productive to the citizens may not be very relevant in maintenance of peace (Omilusi and Adu 2016). Indispensable for sustainable democratization are independent media. Governments not only in Africa have a tendency to dismiss media as 'irresponsible' and therefore not very relevant to the democratic process. Tension between

governments and media is however a normal condition in democracies (Stokes, 2013).

Objectives of the Study

General Objective: The general objective of the study was to examine the role of political leadership in electoral process and political stability in the East African Community States.

Specific Objectives: This study specifically sought to:

1. To evaluate the relationship between post-election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States.

Research questions

The following research questions guided the study;

1. What is the relationship between post-election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States?

Research Hypotheses

Ho3: There is no significant relationship between post-election phase and political stability in the East Africa Community States;

Conceptual Framework

The election processes stand out as the independent variable which has effect on the political stability of the East African Community States. The study considered the following indicators of the electioneering processes: pre-election phase processes, election process and the post-election processes which help in tracking progress, reviewing of results and modifying plans to harmonization of the political system in the EAC States. Political stability is thus, dependent on the design and prudent implementation of the harmonized electoral process that applied to all the EAC States. The variables and their relationship are shown in the Figure 1 below

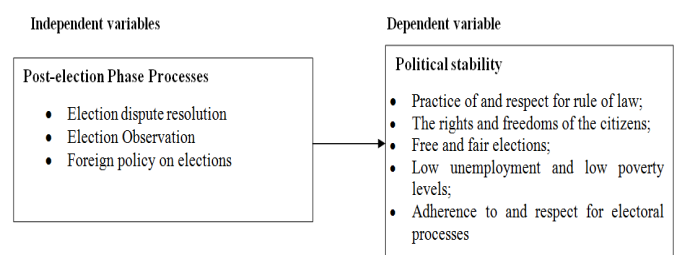


Figure 1. Conceptual framework

Research design This study adopted a quantitative approach of both descriptive and correlation designs. The designs suit this study since they enabled the researcher to establish the effect of the post electoral processes on political stability. The designs further provided opportunity for the status of electoral processes in the EAC region to be studied without affecting the research context and also ensure that the data collection procedures are fairly explicit in terms of adequately addressing the study objectives. Quantitative data was captured through the use of a questionnaire.

Target population

The target population consisted of 123 individuals working within the electoral commissions of the different EAC Countries and the EAC Legislative Assembly. Target population refers to the entire group of individuals or objects to which researchers are interested in generalizing the conclusions. The target population usually has varying characteristics and it is also known as the theoretical population (Kothari, 2011).

Regression Analysis for post-election phase processes

Regression analysis was performed in order to determine whether the independent variable, post-election phase processes could be reliable for explaining the change in the dependent variable, political stability in East Africa region. The coefficients obtained indicate that the correlation coefficient (R) between the independent variable and the political stability was 0.811 which is a positive correlation relationship. Table 1 shows a coefficient of determination (R^2) of 0.658, which means that this variable alone can explain up to 65.8% of the variations in the dependent variable, political stability.

Table 1. Model summary showing post-election phase processes

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.811 ^a	.658	.656	.420123

Predictors: (Constant), Post-election phase processes

ANOVA for post - election phase processes

The results of an ANOVA test performed on the variable post-election phase processes are summarized in Table 2 which shows that the variable has a P-value equal to 0.000, indicating that the model is statistically significant in explaining the change in the dependent variable, considering that the P-value is less than 0.05 at the 95% level of confidence. Therefore, based on the empirical results presented in Table 2, the Alternative Hypothesis H3 is accepted and the null Hypothesis (H_03) is rejected and a conclusion reached that, at 5% level of significance, post-election phase processes significantly influence the political stability.

Table 1. ANOVA for post-election phase processes

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	51.431	1	51.431	293.042	.000 ^a
Residual	26.811	52	.617		
Total	78.242	53			

b. Dependent Variable: Political stability

c. Predictors: (Constant), Post-election phase processes

Conclusions

The third objective was to determine the relationship between the post-election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States. From this objective, it was hypothesized that there is no relationship between post-election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States. The results of this study showed a positive statistically significant relationship between post-

election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States. Therefore, hypothesis

H03: there is no significant relationship between post-election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States was rejected and concluded that post-election phase processes have a significant effect on political stability. The findings therefore confirmed that post-election phase processes are a determinant of political stability in the East African Community States. The findings confirm that there is a statistically significant influence of post-election phase processes and political stability in the East African Community States. A positive increase in post-election phase processes leads to an increase in political stability in the East African Community States. It can be concluded from this study that election phase processes were statistically significant in explaining political stability in the East African Community States. The study concludes that policies on effective participation of stakeholders and their implementation have a moderating role. In addition, the study concludes that policies and stake holders' control of the agenda and their implementation. Policies on voting equality and their implementation have a moderating role. Lastly the study concludes that there is no need to harmonize the implementation of existing law and regulation on the use of state resources.

Recommendations

The following recommendations were made with reference to the study findings. To enhance this, stakeholders should adopt an open-door approach that is decision making process. Research into issues in the program should be embraced in order to beef up on decision making process. To mitigate misappropriation, diversion and siphoning of East Africa Community state pre-election phases the stakeholder should do regular audit on the use of election law. They should further carry out monitoring and evaluation in order to ensure that monies were used for the intended projects. The government should sponsor frequent leadership conferences, seminars and workshops for leaders in order to fully polish their leadership in project management as well as group management skills.

REFERENCES

- Acemoglu, D. and Robinson, J. 2010. *Why Did the West Extend the Franchise?* Democracy, Inequality, and Growth in Historical Perspective, *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115, 1167–1199.
- Acemoglu, D. and Robinson, J., 2016. *Economic Backwardness in Political Perspective*, *American Political Science Review* 100, 115–131.
- Ades, A. and Di Tella, R. 2009. *Rents, Competition, and Corruption*, *American Economic Review* 89, 982–983.
- Aila, F. and Ombok, B. 2015. Validating Measures in Business Research: Practical Implications. *International Journal of Science and Engineering*. 1(9), 11-19.
- Ake, C. 2005. *Socio Political Approaches and Policies for Sustainable Development in Africa*. A paper delivered at the Annual Meeting Symposium of the African Development Banks, Abuja.
- Albertyn, C, Hassim, S and Meintjes S. 2012. *Women's participation in electoral processes: South Africa in global perspective*, in EISA op cit, pp 17-26.

- Alternatives (CPPA) Presidential Election Outcome: *Analyses and Implications, Transparency International Report*.
- Aubyn, F. and Abdallah, M. 2013. Sustaining Peace and Stability: Appraising the Role of the National Election Security Task Force in the 2012 Elections. *Journal of African Elections, Vol. 12, No. 2, 132-153*.
- Ayanda A. and Odunayo B. 2015. Comparative Study of Presidential Elections in Nigeria Global. *Journal of Human Social Sciences: F Political Science*.
- Baets, W. 2011. *Leadership and Public Governance: Complexity, uncertainty and Bass, B. M. & Bass, R. 2008. Handbook of leadership theory, research and application. New York: Free Press*
- Bekoe, D. 2010. *Trends in Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace (USIP)*.
- Benoit, K. 2014. 'Models of Electoral System Change', *Electoral Studies 23(3): 363-389*.
- Birch, S. 2010. Patterns of Electoral Malpractice. Working Paper No.4. Project on Malpractice in New and Semi-Democracies. University of Essex.
- Blais, A., Massicotte, L. 2010. Electoral systems. In: LeDuc, L, Niemi, R.G., Norris, P. (Eds.), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. Laurence LeDuc, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, p. 49-82.
- Blau, D. and Adrian, B. 2008. Electoral Reform in the UK: A Veto-Player Analysis. In André Blais (ed.). *To Keep or To Change First Past the Post? The Politics of Electoral Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 61-89.
- Blomme, R. J., Kodden, B. & Suffolk, A. B. 2015. Leadership theories and the concept of work engagement: Creating a conceptual framework for management implications and research. *Journal of management and organizational behaviors, 21 (2), 125-144*.
- Boix, C. and Milan, S. 2009. *Non - tyrannical Autocracies*. Paper presented at the UCLA Comparative Politics Seminar.
- Booth, D. 2011. Governance for development in Africa: building on what works.
- Bratton, M. 2008. *Vote Buying and Violence in Nigerian Election Campaigns, in: Electoral Studies, 27, 621-632*.
- Bratton, M. 2010 'Anchoring the "D-Word" in Africa', *Journal of Democracy, 21, 4, p. 108*.
- Brooks, C. 2011. *Introductory Econometrics for Finance*. 2nd Ed). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
- Bryman, A. 2011. *Social Research Methods*. New York: Oxford Publishers
- Bryman, A., & Bell, E. 2009. *Business Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burns, J. M. 2008. *Leadership*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Burns, R, A. and Burns, R. 2012. *Business Research Methods and Statistics using SPSS*. London: Sage Publications Ltd
- Chang, E. 2008. *Electoral Incentives and Budgetary Spending: Rethinking the Role of Political*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Cheeseman, N. 2014. *Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform*. Cambridge University Press.
- Clionadh, R. Roudabeh. K, McKnight. J & James.M. 2016. *Armed conflict location and event data set country report on Burundi crisis p.1-5*
- Cooper, D. and Schindler, P. 2011. *Business Research Methods*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. p 18-22
- Cronbach, L.J. 1990. *Essentials of Psychological Testing*, 5th Ed. New York.
- Cyert, R. M., & March, J. G. 2013. *A behavioral theory of the firm*. NJ: Englewood Cliffs.
- Dailon, R. 2011. *Statistical Design and Analysis of Experiments for Development Research*, Iowa: Brown publishing.
- Damania, R. and Bulte, E. 2013. Resources for Sale: Corruption, Democracy and the Natural Resource Curse, Mimeo, University of Adelaide. *Democratization 13(4): 584-604*.
- Davis, J. S. 2011. *Challenging governance theory: From network to hegemony*. New
- Denhardt, J. V, & Denhardt, R. B. 2003. *The new public service: Serving, not steering*.
- Diamond, L. 2009. Developing Democracy Toward Consolidation. Baltimore: Johns distribution. *Journal of Modern African Studies, 41(3), 339-370*.
- EISA, 2012. *Pre-Election Assessment Mission to Ghana: Report*, unpublished.
- Election Commission of India 2009. *Model Code of Conduct for the Guidance of Political Parties and Candidates*. New Delhi Nirwahan Sadan.
- Election Commission of India 2014. *Proposed Electoral Reforms, New Delhi: Nirwahan Sadan*.
- Election Expenses Act, 2010. [www] <http://www.parliament.go.tz/Polis/PAMS/Docs/6-2010.pdf> [PDF document, opens new window] (accessed 24 May 2016).
- Elections in Burundi, 2015. Moment of Truth Crisis Group Africa Report N°224, 17 April.
- European Union Election Observation Mission 2015. *Final Report of the 2015 General Elections in the United Republic of Tanzania*. Pages 1-10.
- Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. 2013. Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war. *American Political Science Review, 97(1), 75-90*.
- Fox J, Shotts KW. 2009. *Delegates or trustees? A theory of political accountability*. *J. Polit. 71(4):1225-37*
- Frantz, E. and Geddes, B., 2013. 'Latin America's authoritarian drift: The threat from the populist left', *Journal of Democracy, 24/3 pp. 18-32*
- Freeman, R. E. 2010. *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Gastil, J. 2014. A definition and illustration of democratic leadership. *Human Relations, 47, pp 504-521*.
- Ghauri, P. Gronhaug, K. 2010. *Research Methods in Business Studies: A Practical*
- Gill, M. S. 2009. *Electoral Systems in India*. Available at http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/eci_publications/books/miscell/E-SI-III.pdf. Last viewed on 27th October 2016.
- Global Peace Index, 2015. *Institute of Economics and Peace*.
- Grofman, B, S. Bowler, and Blais, A. 2009. *Duverger's Law of Plurality Voting: The Logic of Party Competition in Canada, India, the United Kingdom and the United States*. New York: Springer.
- Gujarat, D. N. 2011. *Basic Econometrics, (6th Ed.)*. Boston. The McGraw-Hill Companies.
- IFES, 2015. Residential Elections Act 2000. www.ulii.org. Retrieved 2016-02-08. Instrumental variables approach. *Journal of Political Economy, 112(4).725-753*.
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) (2017). *The Global State of Democracy 2017: Exploring Democracy's Resilience (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2017)*,

- IPU, 2015. Electoral system. International Conflict Resolution No. 2. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Judge, T. A. and Piccolo, R. F. 2014. Transformational and transactional leadership: Ameta- analytic test of their relative validity. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 8 (5), 755-768.
- Kadima, D and Matlosa, K. 2009. The Roles of Regional Organizations in Elections in Africa
- Kapur AC. 2009. *Principles of Political Science* New Delhi: S Chand.
- Kathurima, M. 2011. *The Kenya Electoral system. ALRAESA Workshop on Model Electoral Laws Swakopmund, Namibia, 26-27July 2011*
- Katz, R.S. 2015. Why are there so many (or so few) electoral reforms? In: Michael Gallagher and Vcx
- Khamisi, J. 2011. *The politics of betrayal: Diary of a Kenyan Legislator*. USA: Trafford Publishing. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- Kilonzo, S. 2009. "Ethnic Minorities Wedged Up in Post-Election Violence in Kenya: A Lesson for African Governments." *Critical Arts: A South-North Journal of Cultural & Media Studies* 23, no. 2 245-251.
- Kombo, D. K., & Tromp, D. L. 2011. *Proposal and Thesis Writing; An Introduction*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa.
- Kothari, C.R. 2004. *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*, NewDelhi: New age International, Pp.31-52
- Kothari, C.R. 2011. *Research Methodology; Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.
- Kribat, M., Burton, B. and Crawford, L. 2013. Evidence on the nature, extend and determinants of disclosures in Libyan banks' annual reports. *Journal of Accounting in Emerging Economies*, 3(2), 88-114.
- Kura BY., 2014. Clientele Democracy: Political Party Funding and Candidate Selection in Nigeria. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*.
- Lamin, Abdul Rahaman 2011. West Africa in Context: Elections and Challenges of Democratic Governance, in: *Journal of African Elections*, 10, 2.
- Lavrakas, P. J. 2013. *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods*. (Volume 1). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Likert, R. 1932. *A Technique for measurement of attitudes*. *Archives of Psychology* No. 40.
- Lindberg, S. 2010. *Some evidence on the demand side of private-public goods provision by MPs*.
- Lindberg, S. I. 2010. What Accountability Pressures Do MPs in Africa Face and How Do they respond? Evidence from Ghana. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 48(1), 117-142. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X09990243>
- Lwaitama, A. 2012. *Political Parties and Citizens' Participation in EAC Integration. Synthesis of the Findings Drawn from Five Country Studies*. In Youth, Democracy and Legal Reform Processes: Articles from FES Political Handbooks 2013, 2012.
- Marshall, C. and Rossman, G.B. 2010. *Designing qualitative research*. New York: Sage Publications
- Matlosa, K. and Sello, N, 'Political parties and democratization in Lesotho', EISA Research Report No. 23, (Johannesburg: EISA, 2005), p. 24.
- Mbaku JM 2010. *Bureaucratic and Political Corruption in Africa: The Public Choice Perspective* Malabar: Kreiger Publishing.
- McGowan, P. J. 2014. *African military coups d'etat, 1956-2001: Frequency, trends and*
- McQuail, D. 2015. *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, Sage Publication, London.
- Michael Krennerich, 2012. Germany: *The Original Mixed Member Proportional System*. <http://www.idea.int/esd/upload/germany.pdf>.
- Miller, M.L. 1986. *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research*. Beverly Hills: sage Publication.
- Mudde, C. 2013. 'The 2012 Stein Rokkan Lecture. Three decades of populist radical right parties in Western Europe: So, what?', *European Journal of Political Research*, 52/1, pp. 1-19
- Mudde, C. and Kaltwasser, C. R., 2013. 'Populism', in M. Freeden and M. Stears (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies (Oxford: Oxford University Press)*
- Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G. 2008. *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Nairobi-Kenya: Acts Press.
- Mugenda, O.M. and Mugenda, A.G. 2013. *Research methods*. Nairobi: McMillan Publishers.
- Muhula, R. 2009. *Horizontal Inequalities and Ethno-regional politics in Kenya*. *Kenya Studies Review*: 1(1) 85-105.
- Mukandala, R. and Killian, B. 2004. *Political Cooperation in East Africa*, in S.S.
- Munday, J. 2009. *Introducing translation studies: Theories and applications*. New York: Routledge
- Mutua Kioko. P. 2010. *A Study on the Post-Election Violence in Kenya, an International Law Perspective* Ph.D thesis p.20-30
- Mwangola, M. S. 2013. *Leaders of tomorrow? The youth and democratization in Kenya in Kenya: the struggle for democracy*. London and New York: ZED books
- National Electoral Commission, 2010. *Electoral Code of Conduct for the Presidential, Parliamentary and Councilors. Elections*.
- National Electoral Commission, 2010. *Guidelines for local and international Election observers*.
- Ngari, C. 2017. *Relationship between Workplace Chronemic Culture and Employee Performance among Service State Corporations in Kenya*.
- Ngowi, H. P. 2009. Economic development and change in Tanzania since independence: The political leadership factors. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 3(4), 259-267.
- Nicole. S and Monroe, E. 2009. *Media, Elections and Political Violence in Eastern Africa: Towards a Comparative Framework*. University of Oxford Center for Global Communication Studies, Annenberg School for Communication.p1-25
- Norman, S. King. 2013. African development bailout: Striking a balance between religion, peace and tranquility. *International Journal Social Science Research*. Vol.2 (5), 55-65
- Norris, P. 2002. *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Norris, P, 2006. Revisiting the theories of the state first developed by Marx, Engels and especially Lenin in his work. *The State and Revolution*.
- Obazee G 2014. *The Effects of Corruption on the Inflow of Foreign Direct Investment into Ten Sub-Saharan African Countries: Using Ghana and Nigeria as Discussion Points* PhD Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Wilmington University

- Obi, C. 2008. International Election Observer Missions and the Promotion of Democracy: *Some Lessons from Nigeria's 2007 Elections*, in: *Politikon*, 35, 1, 69-86.
- Odhiambo, F. 2009 The 2007 General Elections in Kenya: Electoral Laws and Processes. *Journal of African Elections* 7 (2), pp.113-123
- Ogbeidi, M. M. 2012. Political leadership and corruption in Nigeria since 1960: A socioeconomic analysis. *Journal of Nigerian Studies*, 1(2), 1-25.
- Olopade, D. 2014. *The bright continent and making change in modern Africa*. London: Duckworth overlook
- Olorunmola A 2016. *Cost of Politics in Nigeria Westminster Foundation for Democracy*
- Omilusi M, Adu AOP 2016. Party Politics and Democratic Governance in Nigeria: Historical Perspective, *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Academic Research Organization for Economic Countries and Development (OECD) Publication*.
- Oso, W. & Onen, D. 2011. *A General Guide to Writing Research Proposal and Report*; Handbook for Beginning Researchers. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation.
- Oyedele, O. A. 2012. The challenges of infrastructure development in democratic governance. *Constructive Economics and Management*, 1(6119), 1-15. Retrieved from www.fig.net/TSOIC
- Parliamentary Education Office, 2009. Fact sheets for students <http://www.peo.gov.au/students/fss/index.html>.
- Patton, M. Q. 2009. *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Pawell,
- Ponzio, Richard. 2011. *Democratic peacebuilding: aiding Afghanistan and other fragile states*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reno, William 2011. *Warfare in independent Africa*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Resnick, D. and Casale, D. 2011. *The Political Participation of Africa's Youth. Turnout, Partisanship, and Protest*. Working Paper No. 2011/56. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.
- Reynolds A & Carey J.M. 2012. 'Getting elections wrong', *Journal of Democracy*, 23, 1, 2012.
- Reynolds, A. 2009 *Electoral systems choices for South Africa beyond 1999*, in EISA (ed) *Electoral Systems*.
- Robert, Henry M.; et al. 2011. *Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised* (11th ed.). Philadelphia, PA: Da Capo Press. pp. 438-446.
- Rotberg, R. 2012. *Transformative Political Leadership: Making a Difference in the Developing World*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Royston, J. P. 2012. *An extension of Shapiro and Wilk's W test for normality to large samples*. *Applied Statistics*, 115-124.
- Saboe, K. N., Taing, M. U., Way, J. O., and Johnson. R. E. 2015. Examining the unique mediators that underlie the effect of different dimensions of transformational leadership. *Journal of leadership and organizational studies*, 22 (2), 175 -186.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P., and Thornhill, A. 2009. *Research methods for business students*. (5th Ed.). London: Prentice Hall.
- Schutt, R.K. 2015. *Investigating the Social World: The Process and Practice of Research*. London: Sage Publications
- Sekaran, U. & Bougie, R. 2011. *Research Methods for Business: A Skill Building Approach*. Delhi: Aggarwal printing press,
- Shri Mohan Singh, M.P. 2011. *The constitution Amendment Bill*. As introduced in the Rajya Sabha on 5th August 2011. P.2.
- Shriberg, D. and Shriberg, A. 2011. *Practicing leadership: Principles and applications*. 4th (Ed.). U.S.A: Thompson digital.
- Shugart, M.S. 2005. 'Comparative electoral systems research: the maturation of a field and new challenges ahead', in M. Gallagher and P. Mitchell (eds.) *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 25-56.
- Smith, D. 2011. The re-demarcation and reapportionment of parliamentary constituencies in Ghana. *CDD-Ghana Briefing Papers*, 10(2), 1-12.
- Smith, E. R., & Conrey, F. R. 2010. Mental representations are states, not things: Implications for implicit and explicit measurement. In B. Wittenbrink & N. Schwarz (Eds.), *Implicit measures of attitudes* (pp. 247-264). New York: Guilford Press
- Stokes SC. 2013. Clientelism in Oxford Handbooks Online the Centre for Public Policy
- Suhas P. 2012. *Elections in India Prestige deriving from practice*. Institute for Research and Debate on Governance. Paris: Charles Léopold Mayer Publishing House.
- Teorell, J and Lindstedt, C. 2010. *Measuring electoral systems*. *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No2. (pp. 434-448).
- Thad E. H. 2012. *Primer on the U.S. Election System* pp.3-25. University of Utah Salt Lake City, Utah, USA
- The National Electoral Commission of Tanzania, 2010. *The electoral process in East Africa Tanzania's perspective*. The National Elections Act, Cap 343, the Local Authorities Act, Cap 292 pp.2-22
- Touliatos, J. and Compton, N. H. 2013. *Research methods in human ecology/home economics*. Ames: Iowa State University Press
- Tucker, B.A. and Russell, R.F. 2014. The influence of the transformational leader. *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*, 10(4), 103-111.
- Uddin, M. N. and Hamiduzzan, M. 2009. The philosophy of Science in Social Research. *The Journal of International Social Research*, 2(6).
- Uganda Law reform commission, 2011. *Country report on Electoral systems in Uganda*.
- Ukase P. 2015 Political Parties and Election /Campaign Financing in Nigeria: *Interrogating the General Elections*.
- United States Department of State Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor 2015.
- USAID, UKAID 2015. Still Above the Ceiling: A Report on Campaign Finance and Use of State Administrative Resources in the Presidential Election, Centre for Social Justice.
- Wagner, Wolfgang, and Sofie Dreef. 2013. "Ethnic Composition and Electoral System Design: Demographic Context Conditions for Post-conflict Elections." *Ethnopolitics*:1-20. doi: 10.1080/17449057.2013.793883.
- Xu, Z. and Li, H. 2008 'Political freedom, economic freedom, and income convergence: Do stages of economic development matter?', *Public Choice*, 135, pp. 183-205.
- Yu, H., Leithwood, K. and Jantzi, D. 2012. The effects of transformational leadership on teachers' commitment to change in Hong Kong. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 40(4), 368-89.
- Zikmund, G.W., Babin, B.J., Carr, C.J. and Griffin, M. 2010. *Business research methods*. (8th ed.). South-Western, Cengage Learning.